1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Implements

324 412 Owing to the scarcity of hard stone, adzes were generally made of *Tridacna* shell; a few were made of imported stone (p. 164). Mallets (*tukituki*) of small, unshaped pieces of coral conglomerate were used to pound caulking material between the seams of the plank canoe. Stones were used for grating talo and for cutting pearl shell (p. 169).

Religious Enclosures

778 346 Religious enclosures (*auunga*) on which priests communicated with the gods were round or oval, the form demarcated by a circle of stones placed on edge. Two gaps (*pu*) were left in this circle as entrances to the worshiping place. In the center was the sacred stone (*unu*) of the god. The ground inside the circle was covered with fine white coral gravel.

Today, only traces of several of these religious structures survive. No complete stone representation of a god remains, but informants suggested that this was any large block of unshaped *punga* coral (p. 319). A section of the stone that once represented the goddess Tana, now functioning as a foundation stone for the old copra shed on Loto beach, bears out this information.

Several sites of old religious structures were visited at the place Utupoa on Wale where were formerly situated the enclosures of old Ngake village.

778 Two of these sites were cleared.

172 At the religious structure of the god Te Alongaoa there remain nine stones of undressed coral, each stone approximately 32 inches wide, 16 inches high, and 4 inches thick. The tops of the stones are about 3 inches above ground level. By continuing the outline traced by the stones, it appears that the religious structure was about 12 paces in diameter. Of the stones standing, one is on the eastern rim, three on the northern rim, five on the southeastern rim. A young coconut tree is now growing on the western rim of the structure. A circle of coconut trees is planted round the outside of the rim of this structure as well as round that of the god Tuilikalo. I do not know whether this was formerly the case. To test the levels of the structure, a trench 4 feet deep was sunk across it. The first level was sand and leaf mould. Twelve inches below the surface was the fine gravel that formerly marked the ground level. Below this again was the characteristic sandy gravel of the atoll. Nothing of further interest was turned up by the excavation.

The former religious structure of the god Tuilikalo was also cleared to reveal five stones of about the same size as those on the structure of Te Alongaoa. The enclosure was about 10 paces in diameter.

The two contiguous structures of the gods Tuumulivaka and Te Matakiata are so overgrown that it was impossible to clear them. Examination of the ground showed that no stones are left on the structure of Tuumulivaka. One stone was left on that of Te Matakiata. This stone of undressed *punga* coral is rectangular, 24 inches long, 8 inches above the ground, and 6 inches in diameter. Informants traced the outline of the structure. It apparently was oval with a diameter of about 15 paces one way, 13 paces the other.

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778 / 172 / 777 No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the taio swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative 778 of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure 346 adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted [361] of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yioaga*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*usale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

764 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*pae-*
613 *pae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

765 Outside these walls are observable the stone *parpas* that marked the
341 foundations of old houses of mourning (*usale matanga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

[177] Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Chris-
565 tian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly
764 to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*alihi usale* and *usui alihi*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

764 the stones are of unhewn coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipole, on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Walangakula is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 5 inches above ground. Pau noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a simple headstone and footstone.

[765] The grave of the chief, Te Kula, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Matanga. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 12 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 32 feet long, 5 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

[766] On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tumua who was killed as a thief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matautu, of a man named Walakula and his two companions who broke the tapu of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected gravestones in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are undressed, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Walangakula. Pau stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kula and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Mangoa, was a close friend of Te Kula and wished to be buried next to the chief, but as his lineage gods differed from those of Te Kula, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Alongaua.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*mauli ola*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual undressed coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely

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172. 775 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

[778] 172 764

Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adze; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks; two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tepe* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *mea tiki ni*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

322 Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

Adzes

412 199 Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngaliparua*), as shown by Macgregor (20,fig.13).[1] They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21). No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more desirable quality as working implements

1 [See 2; McGregor, p. 46 — adze.]

were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and forth between Wale and Nassau.

Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaongao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred sitting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

One popular legend of the contact between Naisau and Pukapuka tells of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling themselves Na Tini (The Many ?). It was Kuialaloa, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kuialaloa and his father, Tautuna:

Kuialaloa, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take offense if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Toetuinga, to remonstrate with Kuialaloa privately and persuade him to paddle. Toutuinga did this, but Kuialaloa objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kuialaloa took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe capsized. Tautuna was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kuialaloa did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuna was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of superhuman powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuna mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, tip Tautuna into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be miserable. Tautuna and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitongauuku noticed them. Talitongauuku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. So Talitongauuku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuna and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitongauuku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kuialaloa was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto